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583 727 who was of course a Sangara man. One of the attackers, hearing the familiar name of his fellow tribesman, bore her back to her original village and married her. This old woman, captured, recaptured, and thrice married, was found living in contented old age with her third husband. But she said she had been well enough satisfied with each in turn and refused to express any retrospective preference.

Instances could be multiplied without making the matter clearer. A captive wife is called *jigari*, which simply means 'captive'. When, as in the usual instance, she is of another tribe, she is called *baira*, a 'stranger', though this word does not necessarily connote captivity as well.

Sometimes the captive wife was allowed to bring an infant with her, and it appears that both mother and child were well treated and settled down in their new surroundings. Buninia (who was mentioned as the husband of eleven wives) captured a woman and her young daughter. He kept the latter until she grew up and then found her attractive enough to marry also.

[518] Marriage by capture evidently did not always result in good feeling between the wife's people and the husband's. An elderly man who married his paternal uncle's widow (a captive) has never to this day visited her village, and avers that he is still afraid to do so. In another case an elderly woman never saw her people after being captured until the spread of Government control recently made it possible. Though, on the other hand, I have an instance in which the husband of a captive woman agreed to her warning her people of an impending attack; and in the making of peace between tribes such women were the recognized emissaries. This points to the possibility of compensation for the capture which would follow on or be a condition to reconciliation between the tribes; though I am unable to give an instance of such tribal compensation.

583 628 In nearly all the cases of which I know, the captive woman has come from another tribe, rather than from another clan within the tribe. That is to say she has been taken as a true prisoner of war. But I have a few instances in which a woman has been captured or abducted from one clan by

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another within the tribe; and in such cases it appears that the clan, in the absence of due compensation, would attempt a reprisal. A Bologosusu man killed the dog of a Sapute man. The latter enlisted the support of his friends, and together they raided the Bologosusu gardens, carried off a girl whom they found at work, and married her to one of their number. Now the Bologosusu people—with what exact intention is not clear—got together their supporters and attacked the Sapute faction, but were defeated with the loss of four killed against their opponent's two. Unfortunately I have no information as to how the matter ended, but it is hard to believe that the Bologosusu party, which is a strong one, should have allowed the matter to rest without some compensation from their near neighbours of Sapute. In another case the people of Koninida surrounded a girl of Suporasusu who was working in a garden with her brother. They decoyed the latter away and seized the girl. According to the Koninida informants the Suporasusu people were too weak to attempt a reprisal.

To sum up on the question of marriage by capture it is fair to suppose, in consideration of many examples, that capture has been since the beginning a common method of obtaining a wife among the Orokaiva. It is of course regarded as highly unsatisfactory by the wife's people unless they receive some compensation. In the event of ordinary capture in a cannibal raid on another tribe, the only likely form of compensation would be the capture of another woman in a retaliatory raid; though it is also conceivable that compensation of some sort, e.g. payment, should be made at the truces or peace-makings (*peka*) which occasionally took place between enemy tribes; of this, however, I can cite no examples.

In the event of a capture or abduction within the tribe it is, I believe, necessary to assume that some kind of adjustment, i.e. compensation by exchange or payment, would be made before the clans and villages concerned could settle down to live in their normal amity. Failing some such compensation the transaction remains economically unsatisfactory to one of the parties, and would inevitably lead to reprisal.

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726 these sentries, like others, had a way of 'seeing things'. A Tain-Daware man had on several occasions called in his fellow-villagers to beat off an attack of what proved to be merely *binei*.

726 712 It seems that in certain cases at least the village was provided with some kind of stockade, though no trace of these defences remains to-day. As a last point may be mentioned the miniature spear-pits (see p. 49) with which the paths were sometimes beset. They are mentioned as occurring in the Kokoda district, often beside a tree-trunk that has fallen across the path, so that the unwary might step over the log and into the trap. Several of the police had their feet spiked in this manner.[1] Near Bogi, again, Mr. Alec Elliot, attacking a force of natives established in a strong position on the opposite side of a garden, found this garden to be 'one mass of small spears and spear-pits'.[2]

Peace-Making

728 The lively monotony of warfare was broken by intervals of peace. A truce-making was called *peka*, and the first emissaries were women who, born members of one tribe, had married into or been captured by the other. In some cases it would seem that hostages (*otavo*, lit. 'friend' or 'mate') were exchanged. Two or three from either side would spend a few days and nights with the opposite party, and after this the two tribes would meet in armed force on some common ground between their territories to exchange gifts of pigs and ornaments. The proceedings even of a peace-making bore a characteristically warlike appearance, and sometimes the parties who had met to conclude a truce ended by joining in battle again.

It would seem that the position of the hostages was by no means secure, and the idea of exchanging them was to make sure of revenge if one party were done to death. There are tales of the meanest treachery. When after the conclusion of a *peka* a number of Hunjovarehu men had brought gifts to Wasida to make good the damage done in a previous raid, they were hospitably entertained and accom-

[1] *Annual Report*, 1899–1900, p. 93. [2] *Ibid.*, 1900–1, p. 12.

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modated over night, but in the early morning while sitting at their breakfast they were set upon and killed to a man. In comparatively recent times a party of five Waria men, having made peace with the Government, thought it safe to visit their Yema neighbours on the Gira. They were sitting about a dish of stew when five Yema men, having been methodically told off to their respective tasks, fell upon the five unsuspecting visitors and clubbed them to death.[1] It would seem indeed that these peace embassies miscarried somewhat frequently. W. N. Beaver noted that the particular homicidal ornament called *Horu* was 'a croton worn in the hair by a man who had killed a peace herald'.[2]

Resistance against the Whites

It is sometimes suggested that Papuan natives in general are cowardly, or at least that they do not care to stand up to one another in pitched battle. It is true that when bent on securing victims they are content with the easiest they can find; and that in most of the engagements of which we hear, one side is surprised, hopelessly outnumbered, put to flight, and massacred. It is certain, however, that when armed with their shields the Orokaiva will fight man to man with the greatest skill and address, and, I am prepared to believe, with the greatest daring. Even the way in which they deal with the perils of their environment should be sufficient to refute any suspicion of cowardice; and any fear they may have had of the white intruder is surely excused by the facts that the white man was to them nothing short of a supernatural marvel and that he possessed irresistible means of killing.

But the truth is that they resisted the Government and the miners with a determination that we can now only admire, and that they sometimes fought against armed police with astonishing fury and recklessness. Many instances in the *Annual Reports* from 1895 to 1901 show the native as a brave fighter, but none perhaps surpass that in which Mr. de

[1] For this one man Poivo was given six months in Port Moresby. To his first child born after his return he gave the name Garumá (stone) because he had been engaged in cracking stones in goal.

[2] *Annual Report*, 1918–19, p. 98.